L: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

posed on a T'u-ssu was imposed on him personally. He passed it on by making levies on his subjects, but in spite of this their tax was lighter than the tax paid by the Chinese.

In his capacity as a Chinese official, the T'u-ssu was entitled to receive an emolument; but for unknown reasons this stipend was extremely irregular. Seven T'u-ssu received none at all, and of the others the Ch'i T'u-ssu of Hsining received the highest emolument, 146.88 ounces of silver. Next to him came the Lu T'u-ssu with 76.6 ounces. Five others received 50 ounces a year, and the remainder only 40 ounces.[24]

TRIPS OF T'U-SSU TO PEKING

The difference between a Monguor T'u-ssu and a tribute-paying chief has been mentioned. Like a T'u-ssu, the tribute-paying chief received a diploma and a seal. Unlike a T'u-ssu, he was required to offer tribute at stated intervals, and the most important privilege enjoyed by him and his people was that of admission to the frontier markets. A Monguor T'u-ssu was not bound to report in person to the capital at stated times, but there were occasions when Monguor T'u-ssu were specially summoned to Peking in order to receive awards for meritorious frontier service. On such occasions, they traveled in state. The Monguors still enjoy recalling the fine show made by these glorious ancestors, even though a levy was made on all the subjects of the T'u-ssu, to provide not only a sum of money for his expenses, but thirty soldiers in new uniforms as his escort and ten servants, five secretaries, and enough horses, well equipped, for the whole retinue, together with provisions for the journey. In addition, the most handsome horses and mules that could be found in the Monguors' country were brought and taken along to be presented to the emperor and high officials. Other products of the country, taken as presents, were musk (for the harem), stag horns in the velvet (a medicine of great repute for old men losing their virility), deer sinews (a famous medicine for rheumatic people), and bear's paws (a renowned dish at official dinners), together with saffron from Tibet.

Before his departure, the T'u-ssu paid a farewell visit to the high Chinese officials of the frontier region, who gave him presents and more money toward the expenses of his journey—hoping of course that in Peking he would praise them and their administration in the right quarters. For the whole of his journey the T'u-ssu traveled at the public expense, having permits that entitled him and his retinue to lodging free of taxes and charges. Although the capital expense of the journey was great, it was in fact remunerative both for the T'u-ssu and his retinue. They all enjoyed it, for they benefited by the ancient tradition of the East that nobody travels without

[24] In view of the irregularity and the fact that some T'u-ssu received no yearly allowance, it is possible that these payments were regarded as grants to favored vassals rather than as regular salaries to officials.—O. L.

[p. 51-b]

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226 Tibetan tribe on the shore of the lake from whose ter-
648 ritory they plan to operate, making him a present of the traditional ceremonial scarf of felicity and a cask of wine, some tobacco, and noodles. They are then given the chief's permission and the protection of the tribe.
[608] The men of each fishing expedition usually go to the same territory every year and become sworn brothers of the chief or of some important local nomad, in order to make sure that while they are camped by the lake they will be allowed to gather fuel and will have no animals stolen.

226 Each fisherman breaks a hole in the ice, and spreads a couple of sheep skins on which he sits crosslegged, a two-pronged fork in his hands, waiting for fish to come to the surface of the water. The fish is harpooned with the fork and thrown on the ice. The frozen fish are either carried to market, usually at the city of Hsining, by the Monguors themselves or sold to Muslim merchants who make up caravans of twenty or thirty mules or donkeys. These expeditions involve hard work and exposure to the bitter cold, but the business must be remunerative as many Monguors go year after year.

TRADE

463 In the territory inhabited by the Monguors trade,
563 transport, and small industries are mostly in the hands
441 of Chinese and Muslims. The Muslims are an ener-
439 getic and enterprising people, even more hard working and indefatigable than other Chinese. They willingly engage in the arduous work of driving caravans of pack-mules and in running rafts and boats down the Hsining and Upper Yellow Rivers in all weathers. Most of the peddlars are also Muslims, who travel either with a pack on their backs or with a loaded donkey, wandering through the Monguor country from house to house, exchanging cloth, needles, thread, and other small wares for wool, skins, eggs, and grain. In the autumn, Muslim buyers collect sheep and oxen and drive them to Hsining in small herds.

There are very few Chinese peddlars, but the distilleries and flour and oil mills, which require money capital, are run by Chinese, and the Chinese monopolize the pork business, since the Muslims will have nothing to do with pigs. All through the year, and especially during the autumn, while the Muslims are buying up other livestock the Chinese butchers of the cities and towns send their agents into the Monguor villages to buy hogs. The Chinese merchants who do business on a bigger scale than the Muslim peddlars also send their representatives to pitch tents and display their wares at such large gatherings as the lama monastery festivals and the annual meetings of the Monguor clans.

441 Grain and oil seeds, being the main crops of the Monguors, are also the main commodities of trade. The conversion of grain into alcohol and of oil seeds into oil results in products of higher value in proportion to bulk and weight which can stand the cost of transporta-

tion to more distant markets that could not be reached by the unprocessed grain and seeds. These enterprises are, therefore, outlying Chinese businesses intermediate between the Monguor country and the Chinese-inhabited towns and cities. Wealthy Monguors, not confident of their own ability in trade, often invest their money in such Chinese enterprises; often, unfortunately, with the result that the Chinese partners get rich while the Monguors lose their money. Only a few Monguors, who are already well on the way toward becoming completely Chinese, venture into such enterprises as managing a small shop or buying and selling animals or wool and skins.

In the autumn, the Chinese managers of distilleries and oil mills make contracts with the Monguor farmers, the farmers undertaking to plant an agreed acreage with the crop required by the Chinese, and to sell the harvest at an agreed price. On the strength of this agreement, the Chinese buyer makes a cash advance to the Monguor farmer. Wheat that does not go to the distilleries is bought up by Muslim dealers. The wheat is measured at the Monguor farm with the buyers' own measure, draft animals are hired from the Monguors to bring the wheat to the river bank, and it is there loaded on rafts and floated down to Lanchow.

There are some mills that grind flour for local Monguor consumption, and for that of neighboring Mongol and Tibetan nomads, and Chinese cities. These mills are built along small streams. A vertical wooden wheel carries an endless chain of buckets. As the stream fills the lower buckets, the wheel turns; coming up over the wheel, the buckets empty into a chute, and the descending water turns the nether stone of the mill, while the upper stone remains fixed. The grindstones are so crudely grooved that the grain has to be milled three times. Professional grindstone makers cut the blue stone in the mountains, install the millstones at the mill, and visit the mills every month to cut fresh grooves in the stones. There are only a few mills with horizontal power-wheels.

In the profitable business of buying livestock to be slaughtered in such cities as Hsining and Lanchou, the Muslims have a virtual monopoly of buying cows and oxen, the Chinese have a monopoly in buying pigs, and both Muslim and Chinese butchers buy sheep. The most important season is the autumn, when the animals are in the best condition. Sheep are herded slowly for a journey of ten days or more to Lanchou, in order to prevent them from going lame and losing weight. Pigs are also driven slowly, each batch of pigs being handled by three men, moving only six or eight miles a day and sometimes taking a month to reach market. Ahead of the pigs is a man on foot driving a donkey loaded with dried peas and a long basket. Every mile or two the donkey is halted, some of the peas are poured into the basket, and enough is fed to the pigs to whet their appetites and keep the fat animals waddling after the

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donkey for the next mile or two. The pigs travel relatively well because they have not been confined and fed in sties all their lives, but have been grazed in the open around the Monguor villages. The same men who buy pigs also buy hog bristles, in which there used to be a large trade. The bristles were sent all the way to Tientsin on the coast of North China and shipped from there to Europe and America for making brushes.

The wool and skin merchants of Hsining also send their buyers into the Monguor country. All of this buying is done directly in the homes of families that have small amounts to sell, with the result that Monguor children, girls as well as boys, grow up fully acquainted with the fluctuation of market prices and the long-drawn-out processes of bargaining. Much of the buying in small quantities is done by the peddlars, especially Muslims. They deal largely in things needed by women, such as needles, colored thread, cotton cloth, cheap jewelry, pepper, and sugar and other condiments, and for the men tobacco and pipes. These things are usually not sold for cash but bartered for eggs and small quantities of grain, wool, or skins. It is customary for Monguor families to provide such peddlars with a place to sleep over night, in return for a small present made to the women of the family; and as most of the bargaining is done by the women, the peddlars are the "radio" of the country, spreading news and interesting gossip as they travel.

Buying and selling are done on a larger scale at fairs. Two or three times a year every important monastery holds special religious performances, around which there spring up markets and fairs. Chinese merchants, after paying a fee to the monastery or the T'u-ssu, pitch their tents and display their merchandise. The fair spreads all over the valley around the monastery. Spades and plows and all kinds of farm implements are for sale, in addition to cotton cloth, satin and silk, jewelry, dishes and crockery, cooking kettles, spices, tobacco and pipes, wine, fruit, saddles and saddle rugs. Chinese quack doctors sell their medicines and profess to diagnose diseases. To these fairs the Monguors bring their horses, cows, sheep, and pigs for sale.

Some of these fairs are especially celebrated and attract Monguors and Tibetans from considerable distances. In the afternoons there are horse races and wrestling matches, singing and dancing and merrymaking, and often, when there has been too much drinking, fights between clans and villages.

A special activity of young Monguor men is the long-distance caravan trade with Tibet, reminiscent of the medieval overland trade in Europe between Italy, France, Germany, and the Low Countries. The big men of the caravan trade going into the interior of Tibet and as far as Lhasa are Chinese merchants. Small merchants, with perhaps only a load or two of goods, attach themselves to these caravans and so do Tibetan lamas and lamas from the Monguor country and from

Mongolia, some of whom are going to study in the great monasteries of Tibet but many of whom are going on pilgrimage, partly to visit celebrated monasteries and partly just for the fun of traveling and seeing the world. Each traveler with such a caravan must take care of his own food and expenses.

A large number of young Monguors, especially those who can speak Tibetan, take jobs with these caravans. A man who is thus working with a caravan for hire can also, by ancient custom, take with him trade goods for his own private speculation. The Monguors take the big, handsome mules and fast horses bred in their own country, and things-like saddle girths woven with white wool, made in the Monguor country and known to sell readily in Tibet. The Monguor mules are especially esteemed in Tibet, and consequently Monguors who have mules or horses to sell will entrust them to a young man working with one of the trading caravans, sharing with him the profit of the venture.

The big caravan of the Kuopa Tibetans leaves Hsining during the fourth moon of the lunar calendar and returns from Lhasa in the second or third moon of the following year. In 1914, when traveling near the great lake of Kukunor, I met the vanguard of this caravan on its way to Lhasa. The vanguard carried two flags. When it was time to pitch camp for the night, the men showed their veteran skill by the way in which, under the orders of their chief, they staked out the site of the camp. An hour later the main caravan arrived in nine groups of fifty yaks, each of which was separated from the preceding group by a small distance. On each side of the caravan rode Monguors and Tibetans armed with rifles and long swords. Each of the nine groups was accompanied by travelers, some of whom were riding while others walked and led their horses and mules. Each group went straight to the spot that had been staked and roped off for it, unloaded its animals, and pitched a small tent. Some of the men then went out with the animals to pasture near the camp, while the others prepared food. In the early morning the caravan left again, in perfect order. Camp is made in the afternoon and broken in the morning with amazing skill and orderliness; throughout the journey, the pattern of the camp is maintained, so that each group knows exactly where it belongs.

Caravans carrying valuable loads never venture to travel in Tibet without a strong armed guard, for fear of being robbed by the wilder Tibetan tribes, such as the Ngoloks. According to foreign explorers and travelers these large and well defended caravans are seldom attacked, but according to Monguors who have traveled with the caravans the safety of a caravan really depends on the custom of "sworn brotherhood." In each territory through which the caravan is to travel, the chief of the caravan has a sworn brother who is one of the local chiefs. As the caravan approaches each new tribal territory, two men are sent ahead with valuable

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presents for this sworn brother, who then notifies his tribe not to molest the caravan. The traditional presents consist of bolts of satin and silk, or a load of cotton textiles or sugar or Chinese vermicelli. The next day, when the caravan chief and his local sworn brother meet, the caravan chief asks politely whether he can help his brother by carrying some things for him on the way back. The local sworn brother just as politely names some purchases that he would like made for him in Hsining or Lhasa, for which he offers to pay. The two understand each other's meaning perfectly, and the following year the caravan leader will bring as presents the goods that have been indicated. Thus in fact the caravan takes its way through each territory by a form of taxation in the guise of presents.[8]

On the way back from Tibet the Monguors bring with them *p'ulu*, a kind of woolen serge woven in Tibet in narrow bands, either dyed red or purple, or white with crosses of red or blue dyed in the fabric by the "tie and dye" method. This material, which sheds water, is greatly valued by both Tibetans and Monguors. The Monguors also bring back from Tibet incense, dates, and saffron, which they sell to Chinese, the saffron being used more for medicine than as a condiment. At the market in the frontier town of Dankar I once bought some dishes that had just been brought in from Lhasa with the Kuopa caravan. These dishes bore the trademark of "Regout, Maestricht, Holland" and had traveled from Europe to Calcutta, from Calcutta to Lhasa, and from Lhasa, loaded on yaks, to the frontier of China.

The young Monguors who have once worked with the caravan seem to catch the fever of travel and want to go back to Tibet again and again. The older people, with the wisdom of experience, explain the mystery. The reason is, they say, the ease—and variety—of getting temporarily married in Tibet. The traveler who wants to strike up a temporary relationship with a woman in Tibet shaves his head just before his caravan arrives at its destination. This makes him look like a lama, and a Tibetan girl will readily "marry" him, assuming that he has no permanent obligations to a wife at home. If he were to wear a "pig-tail," the girl might be a little more hesitant, fearing that the "marriage" would last only until he wanted to go home. When he does want to leave such a temporary wife, however, the rascally traveler simply grows his "pig-tail" again on the next stage of his journey. In this way, the enterprising caravan man can sample the joys of marriage in a number of places.

DWELLINGS

The construction and disposition of the houses of the Monguors having been described in Chapter IV, it

[8] R. B. Ekvall, *Cultural relations on the Kansu-Tibetan border*, as cited, 54, describes this form of the "sworn brother" relationship as a "guest-host" relationship, and gives valuable details on both Tibetan and Muslim caravan trade.—O. L. [P. 116a]

[30 cont.]

sword. Frequently the shaman hangs an image of his tutelary spirit over the household altar. He must burn incense in front of it every day, just as before his sword; at certain times he sacrifices goats, sheep, or pigs to it.

The amulet cases with the image of the tutelary spirit are bought by the shamans in the monasteries or in the monastery markets. They are fairly expensive since they usually come from Peking, Shanghai, or Tibet.

Everything that the shaman does he does by virtue of his tutelary spirit. As such the following come into consideration: the dragon gods, the tiger god, the great mother, and in general the many lower spirits of the yellow religion that can take possession of a person. Heaven, however, can never become the tutelary spirit of the shaman.

Task of the shaman: The sword-shaman is supposed to prophesy, heal the sick, conjure away storms, drive away demons. He may not interfere in the activities of the lamas, Bon priests, or drum-shamans. For instance, he is not permitted to erect a mani-tree, but he may set up an ordinary mani-flag on the yard gate. Also, he may not undertake the ceremony of the pole-goat or hold sowing and harvest festivals; he does not officiate at funerals and weddings.

The ceremonies for healing the sick are quite manifold. The following is the most common. First of all the shaman puts himself in a trance. Then a man brings him a large iron spoon filled with water. The shaman tears a piece of cloth from his protective mirror, throws it into the water, scatters some barley grains over it, and holds the spoon over the open [31] fire until the water boils and the cloth is thoroughly steeped. Then he takes out the cloth and gives the broth to the sick person to drink.

In order to purify or to punish themselves or in order to demonstrate their authenticity, they swallow fire, hold their hand in the flames, pierce themselves with the sword, slit their bodies open, lick red-hot iron, etc.

[44 cont.]

782 Instead of butter, dry cream may also be used, regardless of whether the milk was boiled or raw. If no tsamba happens to be on hand (5), burned wheat or barley flour is permitted, but

5. [Foreign text pp. 47-48.] Even today the Tujen kitchen cannot be imagined without tsamba. They roast ch'ing-k'o (Chinese) or šbē (Tuj.), that is, spelt, kiln-dried unripe grain, and grind it in a handmill. This roasted-grain flour is eaten exactly as among the Tibetans (Fandse). After the consumption of butter tea, tsamba is [48] kneaded into a dry dough in the tea bowl with the remainder of the tea and the butter floating on it, and it is then eaten in the form of little pellets or little sausages. -- The tsamba that is used for the incense offering, however, may not be kept with the ordinary tsamba. Every family has a special little box for it. -- Concerning šdē, ch'ing-k'o, cf. Schröder, "Wedding Songs," for further details.

never bean flour, because it is unclean. In the case of the sugar, there are no special prescriptions concerning the color; therefore they usually take the red because it is cheaper than the white.

The spices that are scattered into the fire as a fragrant addition have been purchased in some Chinese apothecary shop. They are called "earth-god spices," or simply "addition" (4).

4. [Foreign text p. 47.] The word rdzē, designated as a Tibetan loan-word, corresponds to rdsas (Unkrig); the equivalent given in the DMF, 'dre,

[44 cont.]

782

10. [Foreign text p. 49.] For the water offering, cf. the chapter, "The Lama-reception, Note 3.

The threads are in the well-known five sacred colors. The material does not matter. The best, naturally, are silk threads. Wealthy [45] people throw a small bundle of each [556] color into the fire every time; poor people, on the other hand, merely cut off a little piece from each string, so that they will last a long time.

782 The conch comes from the east, from China or Tibet. 534 It is said that none are found in the Koko Nor. Hence, not every family has a conch. It is therefore not absolutely neces- [439] sary for one to be blown at the offering (7).

7. [Foreign text pp. 48-49.] The conch is the Triton horn, the Triton spiral. To the Tujen it is a symbol of purity and of the sublime. Accordingly, the word dõñ is also used adjectively for: pure, white, sublime, sacred. One could translate it simply as "conchlike." It is found in this sense especially commonly in songs. In order to blow it, one pierces the pointed end and edges it usually with metal; this serves as the mouthpiece. Colorful bands often hang at the other end, the horn; cf. the illustration. In spite of its dull tone, the conch resounds very far.

It is self-evident that the conch is not native to that region. The Tujen name is a phonetic imitation of the Tibetan duń; usually the Tibetans further add dkar, "white." In Mongolic this conch is called labai (Unkrig; Kov. 1958), which in turn is related to the Chinese la-pa,

[66 cont.]

782 [533] Sitting before the obo, the lama gives the appropriate prayers, accompanying them on his hourglass drum and the bell. At the same time the people burn incense at several places, kowtow, and blow the conch. This service may sometimes last the entire day. When the lama is finished with the prayer, he takes the torma to a stone on the obo, sprinkles the obo with holy water, and casts barley on it, over which he lightly blows with his mouth. The people then take something from offerings that stand in front of the obo, pluck something off, and throw some of this into the incense fire and on the obo. The flowers are all thrown on the mound. Meanwhile others have already placed the spears, twigs, and mani-flags on the obo and have thrown the votive gifts on it, as at the month offering. Then all of them circle around the obo, throwing the white stones and praying the obo call. At this point all of them once more make a threefold kowtow, drink tea, and go home.

The prayer service may also last several days. Then people set up tents on the mountain and live and eat there.

527 782 The obo festival: Every year on the sixth day in the sixth month an obo festival takes place. At these festivals the obo is venerated in the morning, as it is at the month offering. A sheep offering and the prayer service of the lama may also be connected with it.

527 [541] [533] [439] [526] [178] [541] [533] All the people from the neighborhood, men and women, old and young, gather at the obo. If the obo terrain is too difficult and not level enough, they gather at the foot of the mountain or on a meadow. There the men hold horse races, people sit around the fire and drink and sing; they eat and dance and laugh. Chinese traders appear, set up their booths, and peddle their wares. -- Formerly, when the old weapons were still used, the horse races were followed by archery, spear throwing, and sword fights. Wrestling matches were especially popular. Nowadays this is no longer the case. Only the horse racing and the singing contests are still held. The mountain-spirit rejoices when the people are so gay (3).

[171]

3. [Foreign text p. 69.] The obo festival is also celebrated by the

[857 cont.]

782 [824] the incense offering, the good six. To this are added little leaves of Buddha gold, little pieces of silver, corals, little pieces of mother-of-pearl, sometimes rare stones or water, and then five-colored silk threads, white and black sugar, tea leaves, and a few little balls of butter.

The filling: First a mortar with pestle, a large earthen vessel, and a clean iron kettle are provided. All these objects are thoroughly washed and fumigated in the incense fire. The spices are pounded to flour in the mortar and then poured by the lama into the vessel, where they are thoroughly mixed with the five kinds of grain. The quantity depends on the size of the urn. Meanwhile the master of the household melts a lump of butter in the iron kettle over the fire. The lama pours this melted butter into the grain and spice mixture with a spoon and thoroughly kneads everything together.

He puts this mixture into the urn, but only one-third of it. Over this first filling he puts a layer of the other additions, gold, silver, etc. Then the remaining two-thirds are added, almost up to the rim of the urn, and the liquid butter is poured on, almost to overflowing. The master of the household brings a yellow or red hada (or cloth), fumigates it, and hands it to the lama. He ties up the urn with it in three layers, in which the colors yellow and red may alternate. The thread that is wound around the cloth must also be yellow or red and is first fumigated. Once everything is thoroughly tied up, the knot is covered with sealing wax (3) and finally stamped with a seal

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3. [Foreign text p. 858.] Latsia, as the sealing wax is called, is obtainable from Chinese traders.

[778] [386] that bears Tibetan signs. Afterwards the lama paints a nuru jewel on the white urn with red pigment, usually red clay, which is to signify a treasure. This makes the urn distinguishable as a treasure for the earth-god (4).

4. [Foreign text p. 858.] The Tujen call the symbol of good

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

seems to justify and to explain historically my former hypothesis: "It seems a reasonable inference that a fair number of the subjects in the Monguor clans are Turks, but not all of them Shat'o Turks" (Monguors I: 54). "A majority of Turkish elements is probably to be assumed among the commoners of the Monguor clans ruled by the *t'u-ssu*" (Monguors I: 55). That many Uighur Turks are encountered in the clans of the Monguor Shat'o seems normal, for tribes of Turkish origin must have preferred to live together. The fact that all of Huangchung had been occupied by T'u-fan Tibetans since 629 explains that T'u-fan tribes preferred to join the T'u-fan of Hsining rather than to be moved among the Tang-hsiang tribes of Hsi Hsia.

MOSLEM TRADERS IN HSINING

The history of Chiossulo points to the problem of the first appearance of Moslems in Huangchung. The *Sung Shih* (492: 13*a*) notes explicitly "that Hsining Uighurs went to Kao Ch'ang along Kokonor and that traders from all the kingdoms of Central Asia came to do business." That the Hsining Uighurs were very well acquainted with those of Turkistan is no wonder, even as the T'u-fan of Hsining were acquainted with those of Kao Ch'ang, for Chiossulo was born in Kao Ch'ang. However, traders did not travel only from Hsining to the oasis east of Tarim, but they traveled also along Kokonor to the oasis of west Tarim, Khotan, Yarkand, etc., and further into India. This last route was already well known in the sixth century A.D.[31] and lamas fleeing the persecution of Buddhism in Lhasa came over Khotan to Hsining. Since 943 the Karakhanids,[32] of Turkish origin, as were the Uighurs, had founded petty realms in the oasis of West Tarim. Their chief had been converted to Islam in 960 and forced his subjects to become Moslems. These Turks, being as sturdy traders as the Uighurs, were very cognizant of the booming trade of Hsining, through which territory they traveled bringing tribute to China,[33] and relations existed between Khotan and the house of Chiossulo itself, whose son Tung-chen had as a concubine a lady born in Khotan, and had adopted her son A li ku and appointed him as his successor in 1086.

Traders, according to the time-honored custom practiced all over China, were federated in guilds, protected by the local officials. They had their own business quarters, their own caravansaries and their permanent agents caring for the interests of the trade. Most of them had their families with them, and it seems very probable that during the booming period of 1038–1086, Moslem traders from West Tarim appeared for the very first time in Huangchung. No wonder that Marco Polo two centuries later noted explicitly the presence of Moslems in Hsining during the Mongol period in

[31] Chavannes, *op. cit.* 6: 333, 341.
[32] Hamilton, *op. cit.*, 94, 95.
[33] *Sung Shih* 490: 7*b*. Franke, *op. cit.* 2: 501.

[P. 14(B)]

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1274 and also of Nestorians, probably traders as were the Moslems, originating from Kao Ch'ang.

BUDDHISM IN HUANGCHUNG

The history of Chiossulo has an important bearing upon the history of Buddhism in Huangchung and upon the specific character of Shamanism in the country.

In Part II (8–14) it is noted that, according to the *Annals* of Hsining, the first Buddhist temple in Hsining, the Ta Fo Ssu, had been built during the Yuan period (1280–1368). Since I was conversant with the history of Chiossulo, I suggested on page 12 that most probably during the occupation of Kansu by the Tsan p'u of Lhasa from 763 until 842, lamas would have followed the conquerors and spread Buddhism in Kansu. However, the first historical data are recorded in the *Blue Annals* translated by Roerich, where is noted the foundation of the monastery of Dantig in 940, on the northern borders of the Yellow River in Huangchung, and at the same time that in that country great hermitages already existed. These annals also note the existence in the city of Hsining of a Buddhist temple where Buddhist monks had been buried. These are the first historical data which prove that Buddhism was practiced in Huangchung before 940. Since the description of the city of Hsining during the reign of Chiossulo, who died in 1065, is available, we know that the city of Hsining was a Lhasa in miniature, where lamas stood at the helm, and that therefore, long before the Yuan period, Buddhism flourished on a very large scale.

SHAMANISM AND MANICHEISM

The Uighurs were converted to Manicheism in 762–763 and professed Buddhism and Nestorianism at the same time. At the time of their khanate in Kanchow in 872 their official religion was still Manicheism. Manicheism is based upon the doctrine of the existence of two distinct principles of good and evil, and of two distinct beings impersonating good and evil, both eternal, independent, and mutually antipathetic.

The shamanism of the Monguors (Monguors II: 94–97) has been explained on the one hand by the overwhelming fear of evil spirits existing among the shamanists, and on the other hand by the recognition of their dependence on good spirits in all the circumstances of life. The struggle between both groups of spirits has been recorded during the typical rite against hail. Then the people carry all their good spirits into the fields in the direction of the threatening clouds, and cry to them to fight the evil hail spirits, which they curse awfully. If it happens nonetheless that the crops are destroyed, the people sigh with despair saying: "the good spirits could not match the evil ones."

Professor Wolfram Eberhard,[34] reviewing the chapter on shamanism, suggested judiciously that there

[34] Wolfram Eberhard, *Jour. Amer. Oriental Soc.* 4: 284, 1957.

/The Monguors/

N *563 M 233 463 [466] because of the value of the animals entrusted to them. They are skillful in breeding, and in finding the best pasture. A shepherd is treated as a member of his employer's family; he receives the same food, and the daughters-in-law must show him the same respect they accord to the head of the family.

The Mongours hunt foxes, hares, pheasants and musk deer, N *563 M 224 439 using guns, traps and poison. The fox skins are sold to Chinese merchants and the best skins, used for lining the winter garments of the rich, bring a handsome price. Musk deer are also valuable game. The precious musk glands, used as a special drug or as an essence in perfume, are sold by weight to Chinese dealers.

Fishing is important in Koko Nor, where the lake produces N *56 M 226 an abundant supply. Mongour expeditions go there as soon as the lake has frozen over each winter. They go first to the chief of the Mongol or Tibetan tribe on whose shore they plan to operate, and present gifts such as wine, tobacco, noodles and the traditional ceremonial scarf of felicity in exchange for permission to fish and protection from the tribe. The fishermen usually go to the same territory every year, and become sworn brothers of the chief or some important local nomad. The expedition, which lasts about two months, involves hard work in the bitter cold, M [251] but the profits are sufficient reward. Preservation of the fish is no problem; they freeze immediately after they are caught. They are carried to the market in Hsi-ning, or sold to Moslem merchants who engage in caravan trade.

Mongours carry on their trade largely with Chinese and Chi- N *563 M 438 439 nese Moslem merchants. The Moslems are an energetic and enterprising people who drive caravans of pack mules from house to house in the Mongour country, exchanging cloth, needles and thread for wool, skins, eggs and grain. In the autumn they collect oxen and sheep and drive them in small herds to Hsi-ning. The Chinese merchants do business on a larger scale. They send their representatives to pitch tents and display their wares at lama monastery festivals and at the annual celebrations and meetings of the Mongour clans. During the fall, when the Chinese Moslems are buying up sheep and oxen, the Chinese butchers of the cities send their agents to the Mongour villages to buy hogs. Chinese merchants also send their buyers into Mongour country for wool and skins, going from home to home. There are also peddlers, who deal largely in items needed in the Mongour home, such as needles, colored thread, cotton cloth, M [437] cheap jewelry, sugar and pipe tobacco. Business is always by barter, with the top-ranking woman of the Mongour household doing the bargaining. As the peddler travels a long distance, it is customary to provide him with a place to sleep. Before he leaves he presents the hostess with a small token of appreciа-

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/The Monguors/

tion for her hospitality. Larger scale selling and buying are done at fairs held two or three times a year.

Occasionally an ambitious young Mongour will go into the business of long-distance caravan trade with the Tibetans. He will deal largely in mules and saddle girths woven with white wool, which can be sold readily in Tibet, and bring back wool serge cloth dyed red or purple, or white with red or blue stripes. A heavy fabric, it sheds water, and is highly valued by the Mongours. He will also bring back Tibetan incense, dates and so forth to sell to the Chinese.

N *563 M 461

6. Work and leisure

The traditional life of pastoral nomads is rather free and lazy except at the times of seasonal migration. Descendants of nomads, the Mongours still prefer to enjoy long periods of comparative idleness alternating with short periods of intense activity. In their agricultural economy, however, the Mongour men are unable to be quite so indolent as pastoral nomads.

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In the farming communities, both men and women work in the fields. The men do the heavy preparatory work, plowing and harrowing; the women help with sowing and weeding, as well as with reaping the harvest and carrying the grains to the threshing floor. Women do the threshing. Like their Mongol sisters, they do the housework and care for the animals. Married women work under the supervision of the oldest, usually the mother-in-law.

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Although their status is inferior, the Mongour women accept it without resentment. Their outlook is conditioned by their milieu. They know what is expected of them, and behave accordingly. Though bound by strict rules of etiquette, they are entirely free to associate with men, to sing and dance in public, and to enjoy themselves. They delight in attending the big festivals at the lamaseries and the annual assembly of the clan, where they meet their friends and visit, and also show off their fancy costumes and headdress. They love to shop at the fairs, and bargain over goods. Both men and women love to sing. During the long, tedious hours of weeding the fields, men and women sing in unison.

M [574] M [437] [533]

N *563 101

G. The Tibetans

1. The people

Hsi-fan is a name applied by the Chinese to the Amdo Tibetans, and to all other non-Chinese tribesmen from Sung-p'an to Hsi-ning. It means Western Barbarians. Some European scholars have maintained that the Hsi-fan are not Tibetans, and suggest that they represent a northern branch of one of the non-Chinese peoples of southwest China, like the Lolo or Moso.

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Granting that there is no such thing as a homogenous Tibetan